

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJ: COMMENTS ON PLENARY MEETING AUGUST 16, 1977
(SALT TWO - 1347)

1. AT AUGUST 16 PLENARY, SEMENOV MADE THREE STATEMENTS. THE FIRST WELCOMED VISITING ADVISORS SENATOR HART AND REPRESENTATIVE CARR. SEMENOV'S SECOND STATEMENT CONCERNED PRENOTIFICATION OF TEST LAUNCHES; HE PROPOSED THAT A SIDDE PROVIDE ADVANCE NOTIFICATION "IN INDIVIDUAL CASES...WHEN, IN ITS VIEW, SUCH LAUNCHES COULD BE MISINTERPRETED AND GIVE RISE TO CONERN ON THE OTHER SIDE." SEMENOV SAID THAT QUESTIONS CONCERNING FORM, TIMETABLE, AND SCOPE OF NOTIFICATION COULD BE DEALT WITH IN SCC AS AGREED AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL.

2. SEMENOV'S THIRD STATEMENT CONCERNED IMPORTANCE OF VERIFIATION. AFTER LENGTHY REVIEW OF JDT PROVISION REQUIRING VERIFICATION AND LONG DISCOURSE ON ARTICLE XVI, HE TALBED REVISED ARTICLE XVI.3 ON DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT, IDENTICAL TO IA LANGUAGE, DROPPING EXCPETION FOR CURRENT TESTING PRACTICES. HE NOTED THAT DISCUSSIONS ON THE AGREED STATEMENT WOULD CONTINUE.

3. IN MY STATEMENT, I ADVISED SOVIETS THAT FOR U.S. PLANNING PURPOSES WITH RESPECT TO ICBMS IT MIGHT DEVELOP, TEST OR DEPLOY

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IN THE FUTURE, THE U.S. CONSIDERS THE LAUNCH-WEIGHT LIMIT ON LIGHT ICBMS TO BE 90,000 KILOGRAMS AND THE THROW-WEIGHT LIMIT TO BE 3,600 KILOGRAMS. I FURTHER NOTED U.S. UNDERSTANDING THAT ICBMS DESIGNATED BY SOVIETS AS SETTING LIMITS, RS-18 AND RS-20, ARE THOSE DESIGNATED BY U.S. AS SS-19 AND SS-18, RESPECTIVELY.

4. IN BILATERAL I ASKED SEMENOV WHETHER HE CONTEMPLATED THAT

ADVANCE TEST LAUNCH NOTIFICATION PROVISION WOULD BE PHRASED IN GENERAL TERMS, LEAVING DETAILS TO SCC, OR WOULD GIVE GUIDANCE AS TO WHAT TEST LAUNCHES WARRANTED PRENOTIFICATION. HE AVOIDED ANSWER, REPEATING PLENARY COMMENT THAT HE WAS BEING RESPONSIVE TO U.S. CONCERNS.

5. ON XVI.3, SEMENOV STRESSED HE WAS NO LONGER INSISTING ON EXEMPTION FOR CURRENT TESTING PRACTICES, BUT THAT NEW SOVIET PROPOSAL WAS CONDITIONED ON REMOVAL OF U.S. "BEST EFFORTS" SENTENCE AS "SUPERFLUOUS." HE REAFFIRMED SOVIET POSITION THAT TELEMETRY IS NOT DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURE.

6. IN HART-JOHNSON/SHCHUKIN-PAVLICHENKO BILATERAL, HART RECALLED IMPORTANCE OF VERIFICATION TO RATIFICATION, AND REFERRED TO 16/20 PROBLEM AS ILLUSTRATION OF FACT THAT NTM DID NOT SOLVE ALL PROBLEMS. DISCUSSING MEANING OF "TESTING", SHCHUKIN APPEARED TO BACKTRACK FROM PREVIOUS POSITION, IN EFFECT DECOUPLING LAUNCHER TESTING FROM MISSILE TESTING. SHCHUKIN STATED THAT TEST OF LAUNCHER WOULD INCLUDE SUCH ACTIVITIES AS ROAD TESTING, CARRYING DUMMY LOADS, AND ERECTION OF DUMMY MISSILES. HE ASSERTED THAT LAUNCHER AND MISSILE COULD UNDERGO SEPARATE TEST SEQUENCES AND THEN BE UNITED WHEN DEPLOYED, BUT THAT SUCH A PRACTICE WOULD CONSTITUTE CIRCUMVENTION.

7. CARR-BUTTS/BELETSKY BILATERAL: IN RESPONSE TO BELETSKY'S CRITICISM OF U.S. EFFORTS TO INCLUDE SPECIFIC NUMBERS IN AGREE-
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MENT, CARR STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF SALT AGREEMENT BEING CRAFTED SO AMERICAN PEOPLE WOULD UNDERSTAND IT. HE NOTED U.S. AND USSR HAD ENGAGED IN MANY USEFUL JOINT EFFORTS, SUCH AS APOLLO/ SOYUZ, WHERE EXCHANGE OF DATA WAS NECESSARY; THE U. S. PUBLIC WOULD NOT UNDERSTAND IF DATA WERE NOT PROVIDED IN A SALT AGREEMENT. BELETSKY, WHILE AGREEING THAT MAN IN STREET HAD TO UNDERSTAND AGREEMENT, ALLEGED THAT GETTING TOO SPECIFIC WOULD GIVE MAN IN STREET MORE TO ARGUE ABOUT. CARR COUNTERED THAT IF TALKS WERE TO PROCEED, WE WOULD INEVITABLY GET MORE AND MORE SPECIFIC.

8. IN KLOSSON-MCNEILL-BEECROFT/KARPOV-SMOLIN BILATERAL, SOVIETS TABLED AGREED STATEMENT ON TESTING OF PENETRATION AIDS (ARTICLE XVI.3) ACCEPTING U.S. LANGUAGE "DOES NOT PRECLUDE". KARPOV REITERATED SEMENOV'S STATEMENT THAT SOVIETS NOW EXPECT U.S. TO DROP "BEST EFFORTS" SENTENCE IN ARTICLE XVI.3. HE STRESSED THAT SIDES' TWO PRIORITIES WERE NOW ARTICLE II.5 AND ARTICLE XVI. REGARDING REFERENCES TO MOBILES IN JDT, KARPOV SAID THAT FROM SOVIET POINT OF VIEW THESE SHOULD BE DROPPED ENTIRELY IN VIEW OF SOVIET POSITION THAT MOBILE ICBMS SHOULD BE BANNED.

9. IN ELDREDGE/BEKETOV-JOURAVLEV BILATERAL, ELDREDGE STRESSED

THAT FIGURES PROVIDED IN U.S. PLENARY STATEMENT WERE NOT
PROPOSAL, BUT U.S. PLANNING FIGURES BASED ON AGREED JDT
LANGUAGE. BEKTOV SAID THAT EST LAUNCH NOTIFICATION PROVISION
WOULD BE GENEAL IN NATURE AND PERTAIN ONLY TO TESTING WHICH
WOULD CAUSE CONCERN. HE IMPLIED THAT CURRENT TESTING WOULD
NOT FIT THAT DEFINITION.EARLE

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